



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

XVII. — *The Sacred Bond*

BY PROFESSOR CAMPBELL BONNER

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THERE are certain curious customs, reported from various parts of the world, which, examined together, lead to a general observation that is not without value to the student of religions. It appears from these customs that the relation between a divine being and a human worshiper may be made closer or brought into special prominence by the use of a physical symbol; or that an act of devotion may be emphasized and given a degree of permanency by representing it in a material form.

This principle is probably best known through certain prayer-customs. Travelers in Japan tell us of the little prayer-cairns of pebbles erected before the statues of Jizo, the protector of children.<sup>1</sup> Others speak of the less pleasant custom of pelting altar-screens, or even the images of gods and demons, with "spit-balls" — in this case bits of paper inscribed with a prayer, and then chewed to a pulp by the petitioner.<sup>2</sup> In Chinese Turkestan the traveler sometimes sees his guide pause to throw a stone upon a wayside cairn. When questioned the native explains, "That is a prayer."<sup>3</sup> The rosary, apart from its mnemonic convenience, probably owes its origin, in some degree, to the desire of the worshiper to associate his prayer with a permanent material symbol; and ecclesiastical scholars have cited, as a possible prototype of the rosary, a custom like that of the Egyptian hermit Paul, who kept count of his three hundred prayers by using a like number of pebbles, which he threw out of a fold of his robe, one by one, as he finished each orison.<sup>4</sup> M. René Dussaud has made a study of the custom, widespread in Northern

<sup>1</sup> Lafcadio Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, I, 43 f., 60, 220-222.

<sup>2</sup> W. E. Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*<sup>1</sup>, 382; Isabella J. Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*<sup>4</sup>, I, 69; Hearn, *op. cit.*, 80.

<sup>3</sup> Personal information from Professor Ellsworth Huntington, of Yale.

<sup>4</sup> Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, 20.

Africa and other Mohammedan regions, of laying a stone, or other small object, upon a saint's tomb or some other holy place. This he considers a materialization of prayer.<sup>5</sup>

In this paper I shall attempt to illustrate the use of a physical bond, such as a cord, chain, or fillet, to represent and emphasize the worshiper's relation to the deity as a suppliant protected by him, or as a devotee bound and consecrated to a god or a sacred object.

Tennyson has given poetical expression to this thought in some familiar lines about prayer in his "Passing of Arthur":

For so the whole round earth is every way  
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God.<sup>6</sup>

It is probable that the religious literature of many peoples would afford examples of metaphors representing the worshiper as bound by "cords of love" or "bonds of service" to a divinity.

For classical students an inquiry of this kind naturally proceeds from three familiar incidents. There is, first, Herodotus' story (I, 26) that the people of Ephesus, when besieged by Croesus, dedicated their city to Artemis by connecting the fortifications to the temple by means of a long rope, or as Aelian has it (*V. H.* III, 26), by running a number of cords from the walls and gates to the pillars of the temple. Thucydides relates that Polycrates dedicated the island of Rhenea to Apollo by passing a chain across the narrow channel which separates it from Delos (III, 104). According to Plutarch (*Solon*, 12), Cylon and his followers, when leaving the Acropolis, tried by a similar device to retain the pro-

<sup>5</sup> "La Matérialisation de la Prière en Orient," *Bull. et Mém. de la Soc. d'Anthr. de Paris*, 1906, pp. 213-218. I do not think that the desire to materialize the prayer is the only influence at work, even in the cases to which M. Dussaud devotes special attention. He has not, in my opinion, entirely refuted the views advanced by Doutté; see the latter's reply, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 419 ff., esp. 434, n. 1. I take this occasion to say that I am preparing a study of the customs of stone-throwing and cairn-building wherein I hope to treat the subject more fully than previous investigators have done.

<sup>6</sup> According to J. Comyns Carr (*Cornhill Magazine*, xli, 44), Tennyson may have derived this figure from a striking sentence in a sermon by Archdeacon Hare (*The Law of Self-Sacrifice*, ad fin.).

tection of Athena; they kept hold of a long thread which they had fastened to the statue of the goddess. When the thread broke they were attacked and put to death by the opposing faction.

The significance of these cases has not been overlooked; several commentators call attention to the importance of tactual connection, in rites of consecration and supplication, which the instances manifestly reveal. For further elucidation no small debt is due to students of cultural anthropology. Tylor (*Primitive Culture*<sup>4</sup>, I, 117) and Liebrecht (*Zur Volkskunde*, 309 f.) have collected several examples that resemble the Greek cases in one particular or another. In the following paragraphs I have repeated their more apposite illustrations, and have added further material from my own reading. Before proceeding, however, it is worth while to note that the act of Polycrates may be regarded simply as an extension of the common practice of dedicating objects of ordinary size by attaching them, or hanging them, to a sacred object by means of a fillet.<sup>7</sup> In the case of the Cylonian conspirators there must have been a feeling that the power of the goddess was communicated to the men through the cord which they held; hence their persons were sacrosanct as long as the connection remained unbroken. The dedication of Ephesus occupies a middle position. All the following examples reveal, in one form or another, a belief that some possessing or protecting influence is extended through the connecting bond, or that a magical power, or *mana*, is transmitted by it.

Among the Ostyaks of Siberia, when a reindeer is sacrificed at a sick man's door, the patient holds in his hand a cord attached to the victim offered for his benefit.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, among the Garos of Assam a long thread is stretched between a sick man and the altar on which a fowl is to be offered for his benefit.<sup>9</sup> The Vedic literature attests a curious custom of

<sup>7</sup> Boetticher, *Baumkultus*, 77; here cited from Pley, *De lanæ in antiquorum ritibus usu*, 57.

<sup>8</sup> Tylor, *l.c.*, from Bastian, *Mensch*, III, 117.

<sup>9</sup> Playfair, *Garos* (London, 1909), 91; here from Scheffelowitz, *Das Schlingen- und Netzmotiv im Glauben und Brauch der Völker* (Giessen, 1912), 35.

attaching yellow birds to a patient's bed, in order that the jaundice may be transferred to them and carried away.<sup>10</sup> In another Indic sacrificial custom, the tying of the victim to the *yūpa*, or sacred post, has been regarded as a means of consecrating him;<sup>11</sup> but this interpretation has been called into question by some Sanskritists.

Naturally, in some cases which seem akin to those already described, the effort of persons engaged in a ceremony to touch a cord or some other belonging of a holy object is due merely to the feeling that even an indirect contact with the sacred thing has power to bestow a blessing. In synagogues of orthodox Jews, when, after the reading of the Law, the sacred scroll is carried back from the reader's desk to the holy ark, those members of the congregation who possibly can, touch the body or at least the mantle of the scroll, and kiss it. The same thing is done during the feast of the Rejoicing of the Law, the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles, when all the scrolls are carried around seven times.<sup>12</sup> There is apparently a like idea in Virgil's description (*Aen.* II, 238 f.) of the way in which the wooden horse, supposed to be a sacred object, is drawn into Troy: *pueri circum in-nuptaeque puellae Sacra canunt, funemque manu contingere gaudent*. On the occasion of the restoration of the Capitol (*Tac. Hist.* IV, 53) the presiding praetor, after the completion of the sacrifices and prayer, touches the fillets which had been bound about the huge foundation-stone, and it is then dragged into position by priests, dignitaries, and nobles, aided by numerous volunteers from the crowd. It has been conjectured that a ceremonial touching of the altar formed part of Greek rites of sacrifice and dedication.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Atharva Veda*, I, 22, 4, with *Kausikasutra*, 26, 18; *Sacred Books of the East*, XLII, 7 f., 263 f. I owe the reference to the kindness of Professor G. M. Bolling.

<sup>11</sup> Hubert and Mauss, in *L'Année Sociologique*, 1897-1898, pp. 59, 64.

<sup>12</sup> This information I derive from Dr. Ernst Riess, of the Boys' High School, Brooklyn, who also pointed out to me the ritual coloring of the following Virgilian example.

<sup>13</sup> Hock, *Griechische Weihegebräuche* (Würzburg, 1905), 106; the author cites a fourth-century votive relief to Asklepios (*Ath. Mitt.* II, pl. xvi, *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, p. 143).

An English traveler among the Buddhists of southern India witnessed in 1828 a ceremony of relic-worship which he describes as follows: "A sacred thread . . . is fastened round the interior of the building, and its end, after being fastened to the reading platform, is placed near the relic. At such times as the whole of the priests who are present engage in chanting in chorus, the cord is untwined, and each priest takes hold of it, thus making the communication complete between each of the officiating priests, the relic, and the interior walls of the building."<sup>14</sup> A rope seems to have been used in certain Greek cult-dances.<sup>15</sup> Aside from its obvious convenience as an aid to united action and a guide in difficult figures, there may have been a feeling that the solidarity of the worshipers was thus indicated.

Liebrecht (p. 309) refers to a common European custom of passing chains round and round a church, and to a form of vow mentioned in old Breton songs, in which the votary promises a cord or girdle of wax long enough to go three times around the church and then be fastened to the altar or crucifix. He believes that the original purpose of such cords and chains was to extend the sanctifying and protecting influence of the sacred object, or of the holy place in a narrow sense, to its surrounding precinct. Ohnefalsch-Richter (*Kypros*, p. 89, n.) reports that the Greek Christians of Cyprus sometimes make a long rope of cotton and pass it several times around the church and upon the tower. In this, as well as in Liebrecht's examples, there may be present something of that apotropaeic value of the encircling cord to which Liebrecht calls attention elsewhere in the essay cited.

Interesting illustrations of the manner in which even indirect physical contact with a stranger insures the protection of a suppliant are afforded by the traditional laws of the desert. W. Robertson Smith writes: "In modern Arabia a protected stranger is called a *dakhil*, from the phrase *dakhaltu ʾalaika*, 'I have come in unto thee,' that is, have sought the protec-

<sup>14</sup> R. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, 241; Tylor, *l.c.*

<sup>15</sup> Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, 381; Robert in *Hermes*, xxi, 166, n. 1; Diels, *Sibyll. Blätter*, 91 f. Cf. Ter. *Ad.* 752, and the ancient commentators.

tion of thy tent. . . . Nay, it is enough to touch the tent-ropes, imploring protection."<sup>16</sup> Similarly Layard: "Amongst the Shammar, if a man can seize the end of a string or thread, the other end of which is held by his enemy, he immediately becomes his *dakhil*. If he touch the canvas of a tent, or can even throw his mace toward it, he is the *dakhil* of the owner."<sup>17</sup>

In a number of monuments of Mesopotamian art we may recognize attempts to represent the sacred bond between a suppliant human being and a divine protector. On a relief of the period of Ashur-nazir-pal we see kneeling, one on each side of the sacred tree, two kings who are holding tasselled streamers which hang down from the winged sun-disk.<sup>18</sup> A design of the same sort, but with the kings standing, is shown on an Assyrian seal-cylinder in the British Museum.<sup>19</sup> On another seal, the Fish-Man, or Fish-God holds a band hanging from the winged disk.<sup>20</sup> In several archaic specimens, the streamer or cord is attached, not to the winged disk, but to another sacred object, apparently a winged door or gate — possibly the gate of sunrise.<sup>21</sup> The interpretation of all these monuments is difficult and doubtful, and it is not to be denied that what I have called a cord might have been meant for a ray of light or a stream of water. On a cylinder in the Harvard Semitic Museum there is little doubt that the "cord" hanging from the wings of the disk is a stream of water.<sup>22</sup> But even if the cords were originally rays or streams, that symbolism was evidently forgotten, for the execution of most designs of this sort points clearly enough to an effort to represent tactual connection between the god and the worshiper.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 1885, p. 41.

<sup>17</sup> *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, 317.

<sup>18</sup> C. J. Ball, *Light from the East*, 32.

<sup>19</sup> Well shown in Jeremias, *Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 65 (same number in the English translation); the imperfect cut in Ward's *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, p. 227, fig. 695, must be corrected by the aid of the accompanying text.

<sup>20</sup> Layard, *op. cit.*, 343.

<sup>21</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, figs. 350, 351, 353; cf. text, p. 36.

<sup>22</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, 217, fig. 656.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, 396.

It seems probable that in actual cult ceremonies, as well as in symbolic art, the sacred bond played its part.

That we may better understand certain instances that must be treated presently, we should bear in mind that the bond between a worshiper and a sacred object may be regarded as merely a special phase of the magic of binding and loosing in general; and that this magic, when brought into connection with theistic ritual, usually aims to give over some person or thing bound to a divine power. Babylonian religious texts, as is well known, make frequent allusion to the acts of binding and loosing, especially in connection with ceremonies intended to relieve the sick from the attacks of demons of disease. As an outward badge of the service of a divinity one may instance the wreath of cord, which, as Herodotus tells us (I, 199), was worn by the female votaries of Mylitta in Babylon. We infer from the Epistle of Jeremiah (42 f.) that this cord was broken when the women had completed the sacrifice of their persons, and had thus relieved themselves of their obligation to the goddess.<sup>24</sup> The rope bound on the head appears as a mark of servitude and submission in the first book of Kings (xx, 31 f.), where the servants of Ben-hadad sue for their master's life. In Greek witchcraft a knotted band of wool may serve to devote an enemy to the infernal deities (*καταδεσμός*), or it may simply consecrate a vessel or other offering to a god. A similar band of wool constitutes the *στέμμα*, or fillet, to which Greek writers allude so often; and the *στέμμα* is now recognized as a bond consecrating its wearer.<sup>25</sup> *ταινίαι*, which in ordinary cult serve

<sup>24</sup> Herodotus speaks of the wreath of cord as *στέφανος θώμυγος*, and also refers to passages marked off by cords (*σχοινωτενέες διέξοδοι*), leading here and there among the waiting women. The language of the Epistle (*περιθέμεναι σχοινία . . . όταν δέ τις αὐτῶν ἐφελκυσθεῖσα . . . τὸ σχοινίον διεπράγη*) is such that, taking it in connection with Herodotus, we may venture the suggestion that the women wore a rope around the waist, and that this rope, during the period of their waiting, was made fast, perhaps to the wall of the temple. Charles, in his discussion of this passage (*Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*), says: "The expression *ἐφελκυσθεῖσα*, 'dragged after him,' seems to imply a cord round the woman's waist, a sort of Venus's girdle, which is then symbolically broken."

<sup>25</sup> *Daremberg-Saglio*, s.v. *consecratio*, p. 1449; Pley, *De lanæ in antiquorum ritibus usu* (Giessen, 1911), 26, 35, and cap. ii *passim*.



much the same purpose as *στέμματα*, are called *ἱεροὶ δεσμοί* by Hesychius (*s.v.* *ταυλαί*). It is fairly certain that, whether a worshiper attached himself to a god's image or only bound a fillet round his head in token of his devotion, the same idea is at work; just as, so far as the principle is concerned, it makes no difference whether a man holds a cord fastened to a cult-idol, like Cylon's followers, or wears a sacred image or medal slung round his neck, like ancient worshipers of Cybele and Artemis<sup>26</sup> and certain Christians of to-day. Paul's description of himself as *δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ* (Ephes. iii, 1; Philem. 1, 9 f.) may be explained, it seems to me, by the currency of the idea of binding in ancient religious thought. Reitzenstein, I find, has given a similar explanation, proceeding from a somewhat different point of departure.<sup>27</sup>

The usual gestures of Greek suppliants, clasping the knees or touching the chin of a superior, were doubtless prompted partly by the wish to detain the person addressed and prevent him from withdrawing himself, partly by the feeling that immediate clinging contact might at least temporarily delay a repulse or a stroke. In the Arabic laws of *dakhīl*, which have been mentioned above, we have a striking proof that even indirect contact was efficacious to protect a suppliant. So among the Greeks the tactual connection might, at need, be extended, as in the case of the Cylonian conspirators. That other instances of the practice occurred in ordinary custom is likely enough. Considerations of propriety, or a heightened feeling for the sanctity of a cult-image might forbid the clasping of the image itself, yet permit a suppliant to hold a fillet depending from it, like the fillets that hang from the hands of the Ephesian Artemis, the Samian Hera, and Zeus of Mylasa.<sup>28</sup> Here we may mention a legend of Cyzicus told by Aelian (fr. 46) about certain women suppliants who clung to the statue of Artemis in such a way that her neck-

<sup>26</sup> See the relief of an archigallus, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, II, fig. 867, and cf. Roscher, *Lexikon*, I, 590.

<sup>27</sup> *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 81; cf. *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, 73.

<sup>28</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, pp. 283-284; *Cat. of Greek Coins in Brit. Mus., Ionia*, p. 71, pl. xiii.

lace was broken when they were dragged away. The threat of Aeschylus' suppliant maidens (463, 465) that they will hang themselves to the statue unless protected may have been suggested by stories about refugees who tied themselves to an altar or an image.

The tragedy, in fact, presents a number of passages that appear to throw light upon our inquiry, and yet are tantalizingly inadequate for satisfactory proof; but we may claim something for their aggregate effect. Sixty years ago Dr. B. H. Kennedy, writing in the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* (1, 234 f.), argued from the third line of Sophocles' *King Oedipus* that suppliants retained some connection with their characteristic emblem, the filleted bough, even after it had been laid upon the altar. He suggested that the woolen fillet was wound about the neck of the suppliant, who thus sat tied, as it were, beside the altar. It is not surprising that this idea, verging as it does upon the grotesque, should have attracted few adherents; and in fact the proposed interpretation cannot well be derived from the word *ἐξεστεμμένοι* and its context. But Paley repeated Kennedy's suggestion in connection with several Euripidean passages where it fits better; and it still finds acceptance among English scholars.<sup>29</sup> The passages in question are the following: In the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, 1216, Iphigenia says to Agamemnon

ἱκετηρίαν δὲ γόνασιν ἐξάπτω σέθεν  
τὸ σῶμα τοῦμόν, ὅπερ ἔτικτεν ἧδε σοι.

*Orestes*, 382 f.:

τῶν σῶν δὲ γονάτων πρωτόλεια θιγγάνω  
ἱκέτης ἀφύλλου στόματος ἐξάπτων λιτάς.

The use of the word *ἐξάπτω* is to be noted.

*Androm.* 894 f.:

στεμμάτων δ' οὐχ ἦσσανα  
σοῖς προστίθηνι γόνασιν ὠλένας ἐμάς.

*Heracl.* 226:

ἀλλ' ἄντομαί σε, καὶ καταστέφω χερσίν.

<sup>29</sup> See Paley's notes on Eur. *Suppl.* 32, *Heracl.* 124, *Iph. Aul.* 1216, and on Aesch. *Suppl.* 641; Wedd on *Or.* 383, and Way's note in his translation.

καταστέφω is used of the act of attaching a fillet to a sacred object in *HerACL.* 124; cf. *Iph. Aul.* 1478.

Interesting also is the situation at the opening of Euripides' *Suppliants*, where Aethra, besieged by the suppliant women of Argos, remains beside the altar holding a bough (the θαλλὸς ἰκτὴρ of l. 10), which she calls δεσμός ἄδεσμος (32) — 'a bond of mild constraint.'

After making full allowance for the freedom of poetic language, it is fairly plain that the clasping arms of the suppliant are analogous to the fillets with which he would deck an altar, and that the suppliant considered himself bound by the fillet of his wreathed bough to the altar of the god. We need not believe, with Kennedy, that the asylum-seeker tethered himself by a band around his neck, but it is very likely that in the presence of threatening enemies he would call attention to his claim upon divine protection by grasping the fillet that hung from the bough on the altar. A significant gesture of this sort is mentioned in the account of the Theban Daphnephoria.<sup>30</sup> A staff of olive-wood, decorated with branches of laurel, flowers, fillets, etc., was carried in procession, and the daphnephoros walked behind holding to the laurel. In this act I can see nothing more than an indication of the devotion of the daphnephoros to Apollo and his sacred tree.

The foregoing considerations may now be applied to the interpretation of an obscure bit of Greek ritual. Concerning a sanctuary of Artemis near Kaphyiae in Arcadia Pausanias tells the following cult-legend (VIII, 23, 6 ff.). Some children at play found a rope and fastened it around the neck of the image, saying that Artemis was being strangled.<sup>31</sup> The people of the town punished the sacrilege by stoning the children. A plague then visited the place, and the oracle directed the people to give the bodies of the children proper

<sup>30</sup> Proclus ap. Phot. *Bibl.* p. 321 (in Westphal's *Scriptores Metrici*, 248).

<sup>31</sup> ἐπέλεγεν ὡς ἀπάγχουτο ἡ Ἀρτεμις. Some authorities translate, less circumspectly, "hanged." But despite the confident statement of a writer in a recent number of *Philologus* (LXXII, 375), ἀπάγχω means 'throttle,' 'strangle' simply, as well as 'strangle by hanging.' Cf. *Odys.* XIX, 230, Ar. *Nub.* 1385.

burial, to perform certain other ceremonies — which Pausanias, in his provoking manner, does not describe — and to call the goddess thenceforth “Strangled Artemis.”

Manifestly the legend is meant to explain a ceremony which involved placing a cord around the neck of the statue (so Hitzig-Blümner *ad loc.*). But the evidence does not justify Farnell (*C.G.S.* II, 428) in deriving the story from a “custom of hanging the mask or image of the divinity of vegetation on a tree to secure fertility.” Nor do I think it necessary to assume that the story indicates a local custom of making sacrifices to Artemis by hanging, although Nilsson (*Griech. Feste*, 235 f.) has shown that such hanged offerings occur in close connection with Artemis worship elsewhere. I would suggest that we have an adequate explanation of the Arcadian custom if we assume that the rope ceremony was a form of supplication indicating the devotion of the worshipers and the protection extended by the divinity.<sup>32</sup>

I close with a brief discussion of a Roman legend and a Roman monument. Ovid (*Fast.* IV, 291–328) tells a story that when the image of the Great Mother was brought to Rome, the ship bearing it ran aground at the mouth of the Tiber, and could not be moved forward until a certain Claudia Quinta, whose character had been under suspicion, proved her chastity by drawing the vessel upstream with her unaided hand.<sup>33</sup> It is supposed that this scene is depicted upon a well-known marble altar in the Capitoline Museum.<sup>34</sup> The legend has been critically examined by Ernst Schmidt in his *Kultübertragungen* (1–30), and need not be discussed in detail. But I may offer the following suggestions.

<sup>32</sup> A legend occurring in connection with the cult of Hecate at Ephesus (Eust. ad *Odyss.* XII, p. 1714, 43; Schneider, *Callim.* II, 356, 4) seems to show that there a “hanging myth” arose from a peculiarity of a neck-ornament on the image. Note especially the words *καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν . . . ἀπάγξασθαι, τὴν δὲ θεὸν περιθείσαν αὐτῇ τὸν οἰκεῖον κόσμον Ἐκάτην ὀνομάσαι*. The close relation of Artemis and Hecate emphasizes again the curious prominence of the cord, rope, or neck-band in the cult and legends of Artemis.

<sup>33</sup> The legend presents numerous variations in detail. The sources are gathered together in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* *Claudia Quinta*, and in the work of E. Schmidt cited in the text.

<sup>34</sup> *Catalogue of the Museo Capitolino*, p. 181 f., pl. 43.

Numerous hagiographic legends, both of the ancient and the mediaeval periods, reduce themselves to this formula: A sacred object refuses to leave or to pass a favored spot, and so either cannot be moved at all, or yields only to a favored person.<sup>85</sup> Since such stories often arise from local jealousies or preferences, it is hard to put aside the conjecture that the story of the ship stopping at the mouth of the Tiber arose at a time when a cult of the Mother had established itself at Ostia, and its adherents claimed priority for the local shrine even as against the Roman temple. The earlier existence of an obscure community of Cybele worshipers at Ostia seems intrinsically probable; but proof is lacking, and the earliest evidence of the cult is said not to antedate the second Christian century.<sup>86</sup>

As Schmidt points out (p. 16 f.), the emphasis laid upon the virtue of Claudia, as upon that of Scipio Nasica, who received the image, according to Livy (xxix, 14, 9 ff.), merely magnifies the sanctity of the occasion; and the motive of the ordeal (compare the story of Tuccia, Val. Max. viii, 1, 5) is extraneous, and serves only to heighten the dramatic character of certain versions. Hence the deed of Claudia is not an essential part of the legend. Its inclusion in the fabric of the story may be explained by the following hypothesis.

The prototype of such works as the Capitoline altar was intended to present nothing more than the figure of a female votary standing reverently before an image of the Great Mother on her sacred ship, and holding a fillet tied about the prow of the vessel. One should observe, first, that it is unmistakably a fillet that the woman on the altar holds; not a chain, as some cuts show it (Baumeister, fig. 864, for example), and not a girdle, as it is incautiously described in the British School's Catalogue of the museum — unless we are to assume that holy women used a fillet for a girdle. Secondly, we know of representations of Cybele on shipboard which do not show any person drawing the vessel; so, for example, a terra-cotta antefix published by Visconti (*Annali*, 1867, tav.

<sup>85</sup> Delehay, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, 35 f., Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 99 ff.

<sup>86</sup> Lily R. Taylor, *The Cults of Ostia*, Bryn Mawr, 1912, p. 57.

d'agg. G). Such representations may mark Cybele as an alien deity,<sup>87</sup> but they need not have anything to do with the circumstances of her solemn entry into Rome. The Mountain Mother becomes a traveler and a protector from the perils of the sea when her votaries betake themselves to navigation and sojourn abroad.

Now the purpose, I repeat, of the prototype of such works as the Capitoline altar was simply to show the devotee in connection with her patron goddess. But if some prominent Roman matron adopted the worship of the Great Mother soon after its introduction, and erected a monument of the kind described, it would be a natural error, in course of time, to think that the monument stood in some relation to the portentous passage of the sacred ship up the Tiber. This supposed relation would, of course, influence the execution of later monuments of the type, like the Capitoline altar itself; for there the posture of the figure suggests that the woman is drawing the vessel, even though the fillet is not drawn taut.

<sup>87</sup> Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 88 ff., especially 93 f. The importance of the ship in connection with the cult of Cybele, quite apart from the Claudia legend, is shown by *CIL*, vi, 494, a dedication by a certain Q. Nunnius Telephus, *matri deum et navi salviae*.